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DE RUEHKI #0897/01 2911054
ZNR UUUUU ZZH
O 171054Z OCT 08
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8621
INFO RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE
RUCNSAD/SOUTHERN AF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY COLLECTIVE
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC
RHEFDIA/DIA WASHDC
RHMFISS/HQ USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE
RUZEJAA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK

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SENSITIVE SIPDIS

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: PGOV PREL MOPS PHUM CG

SUBJECT: Prominent Banyamulenge Criticizes Nkunda

11. (SBU) Summary: Enoch Ruberangabo Sebineza, a prominent Banyamulenge leader, recently told post that Nkunda's actions were in fact creating anti-Tutsi sentiment throughout the Kivus. Nkunda was thus putting Congolese Tutsis at risk, rather than protecting the community, as he constantly claimed his role was. Sebineza maintains that Rwanda is supporting the CNDP, although Kigali should realize that instability in the Kivus is not in its interest. Sebineza said that Amani should be pursued, but, perhaps, at two different speeds and with different elements for North and South Kivu. Sebineza said that influential Congolese Tutsis continue to live in the DRC and to cooperate with their Hutu compatriots. End Summary.

Nkunda Fanning Extremism on Both Sides

- 12. (SBU) On October 15, PolCouns and Poloff met with Enoch Ruberangabo Sebineza, a Banyamulenge from the Uvira region and a prominent member of South Kivu civil society. Sebineza presented a communique, in which the "Banyamulenge Community" condemned the "declaration of war" issued by CNDP leader Laurent Nkunda. The communique maintained that Nkunda has endangered the interests of Congolese Tutsis; he has encouraged extremists on both sides; and he has exacerbated divisions between North and South Kivu. The communique also reiterates support for the Amani Process and calls on the CNDP to return to the process.
- 13. (SBU) Sebineza conceded that the Banyamulenge Tutsi community in the Kivus is split between those who look to Rwanda to protect their interests and others, like himself, who believe Rwanda is complicating the situation. The interests of the Banyamulenge, in Sebineza's view, are not necessarily aligned with the interests of Rwanda.
- 14. (SBU) Nkunda's words and actions, according to Sebineza, are fanning the fires of Tutsi and Hutu extremists, especially in North Kivu. He has created "one million Hutu Congolese" IDP's. Hutu extremists are increasingly viewing the FARDC-CNDP conflict as a "Tutsi War." Nkunda's intransigence and combativeness is therefore harming the Banyamulenge community, rather than protecting it, as Nkunda constantly claimed he was doing. Tutsi extremism was breeding anti-Tutsi sentiment.

Rwanda Supporting CNDP

15. (SBU) Sebineza said it was obvious that Rwanda was supporting the CNDP. Sebineza maintained that, when Colonel Jules Mutebusi and Nkunda left Bukavu in 2004, Mutebusi left with 200 fighters for Gikongoro, Rwanda. After the Gikongoro barracks were dismantled, Mutebusi began "lending" fighters and officers, such as Major Elias Rubibi and Colonel Eric Ruhorimberea, to the CNDP. Additionally, Sebineza claimed that injured CNDP combatants are regularly treated in Rwanda. Sebineza added that around 80% of the Kigali Presidential Guard were from the Masisi region, Congolese Tutsis who

fought in the 1997-2003 wars, then went to Rwanda.

16. (SBU) In Sebineza's view, it was not in Rwanda's interests to allow a "Somali-type" situation to exist in the Kivus. Rwanda could achieve its security objectives without supporting the CNDP. The international community, according to Sebineza, should put much more pressure on Kigali to stop its support for the CNDP. The GDRC, for its part, should concentrate more on reforming the FARDC.

Different Speeds for Amani in North and South Kivu

17. (SBU) Sebineza said that the Amani Program had weaknesses, but he underscored that there was no other alternative but to push forward with it. He noted that there had been more progress with implementing Amani in South Kivu, where the origin of the rebel groups was indigenous, than in North Kivu, where foreign involvement had encouraged rebel activity. In Sebineza's view, Amani should not be discarded, but, perhaps, it should be adapted to the particular circumstances of North and South Kivu. This would allow for two different speeds for implementation of Amani.

Congolese Hutu-Tutsi Cooperation

¶8. (SBU) Sebineza said that there are numerous examples of Hutu-Tutsi cooperation in the DRC. Eugene Serafuli, former North Kivu Governor and currently President of the National Electricity Company (SNEL-Societe Nationale d'Electricite), is a Hutu with connections to PARECO. However, he chose Leon Muheto, a Tutsi with CNDP connections and also a cousin of CNDP spokesman Rene Abandi, as

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his deputy. Sebineza claimed that there are "four Tutsi generals" living in Kinshasa, as well as several senators (Edouard Mwangachuchu and Moise Nyarugabo). Sebineza asked rhetorically if Nkunda was really fighting for the rights of Tutsis.

## Biographical Note

- 19. (SBU) Sebineza has been an active figure in inter-Congolese dialogue. He served as a parliamentarian for three years and was an unsuccessful candidate for a Senate seat. He told us that he has been living in Kinshasa since January 2008, after the Goma Accords were signed. He also lived in Kinshasa during the 2003-2006 transition period. He is now President of the Societe Siderurgique de Maluku (SOSIDER), a steel manufacturing company.
- 110. (SBU) A MONUC contact said that Sebineza is a member of the Badamurwa clan, a minor clan that also includes Zebede Gasore (FRF) and Alexis Gisaro (RCD-G). According to our contact, Sebineza has always played "an ambiguous game," for a time supporting the FRF. However, at the January Goma Conference, the GDRC successfully wooed Sebineza and Bizima Karaha to its side, isolating Azarias Ruberwa, Moise Nyarugao, and the Basinzira clan.

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